

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

## FAMILY GROUPS

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are 592 no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only 614 to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial 551 groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, 592 and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family 596 forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least cor- 423 related with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary 591 matrilineal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have 178 centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The 162 following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approxi- 175 mately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.<sup>1</sup> On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause, loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Coues, 345.

<sup>2</sup>Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlicka found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (6, 39-41). The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1906, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives an abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes.

582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

583 A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house.  
[584] If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a bukakakin, blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

● 591 The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then [584] the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buckskin, meat, corn, piñon nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

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Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamadjida*, your mother, *mamadjitaka*, your father, or *huwedatum*, your parents (*huwedat*, two). A man uses *ginyeqa* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *winyeqa* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *ginyeqa* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

582 number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

## RECORDED MARRIAGES

591 The sign > means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing camps are there underscored.

588 7. Dean, Sinyella's son > Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

551 9. Lenoman, Sinyella's son > Supai Charley's daughter 68. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Teikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djerdwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

12. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dardjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagedja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Toyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8 > Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Jess lived with his father, Teikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tohawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 68, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tohawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 33, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, > Amu, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought Kaoda's daughter home from her father's house near 50; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16) > Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 25. Married Ta'amadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 28 > Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 18; she died. Then he > Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 15; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaba lived 71 > Toahapulnya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

28. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 40. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1919. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

1 [sec category 102, p.

30. Mexican Jack, Captain Jim's half-brother, who lived with his father's younger brother > Supai Charley's daughter at 60; she died. His wife Teyava has married three times. First to Arthur's older brother, who lived with his father at 6, 583 took Teyava from her father's house at 30 to a garden near 51; he died. Sterling took her to his house (location unknown); he died. Mexican Jack brought her to 30. 551

32. Richard lived with his older brother, Watahomidja, at 68 > Nina, a Walapai. Returned to father's land at 32.

33. Bert, his older brother, took Putcilvoiya's sister from 57 (at once?) to 27; she died. Then he > Mary at her father's house, 63. Brought to father's house site, 33. His son, Bela, lived with him; brought Clara at once from her father's house, 38, to 33.

33a. Barney, who lived with his father's brother's son at 1 > Stella, at her father's house, 54; then to his father's house site, 33a.

34. Panamida, who lived at his father's house, 4 > Smiley's daughter at her father's cave, 50. Took her to 4; she died. He moved to 34.

35. Supai Jack, who lived with father at 65, took Supai Charley's daughter from her father's house, 69, to 35; she died. He went > Eunice, at her brother, Putcilvoiya's house, 57; then to 35.

36. Pakadagova, who lived at 64 > Supai Jack's sister at her father's house, 65; returned to 36.

37. Martin Navajo, Mexican Jack's brother, who lived with his father's younger brother > Roger's younger sister at her father's house, 54. She died; he went to 37, near brother at 38.

38. Spoonhead, his brother, who lived with mother at 38 > Prince's younger sister at her father's cave 25; she died. Then he > Butaluidja at her father's house, 63; then to 38.

41. Austin, who lived at 41 (unclaimed land) > Katie at her father's house, near 24; then to 41.

42. Billy, who lived with father at 63 > Austin's father's sister at her father's house, 70. Took her to 42; she died. Then he > Lillie at her father's house, 24; then to 42.

43. Captain Burro, his father, who lived at 63 > Dnasiteva at her father's house at 30. Then her father withdrew his consent and gave her to a Walapai. But Captain Burro took her again to his father's land at the Indian Gardens on Bright Angel Trail. Took up location 43 on unclaimed land after 1911 flood.

44. Allen, who lived on dead father's land at 14 > Jane at her father's house, 20. Went to 44; she died.

45. Jasper, who lived with his father, Manakadja, at 47 > Stella at her father's younger brother's house at 60; then to 45.

46. Lemuel, who lived with father at 35 > Father at her father, Manakadja's, at 47, that is at 46.

47. Manakadja, who lived at 66 > Gwegwagwais at her (and Tohowaga's) father's house at 20. Then to his father's land at 47. Then he disowned her and brought a Paiute (now dead) from Pine Spring; and resuming relations with Gwegwagwais lived at 47 with both wives.

48. Pete, who lived with older brother at 1 > Tekesedja, Manakadja's daughter at her father's, 47, that is at 48.

49. Went lived with his father's older brother, Sinyella, at 49; took Walapai wife.

- 591 51. Shorly lived with his mother, Capt. Burro's sister, near her brother's house.  
 583 63. Teyadjeva, who lived at his father's house, 4>akwemidja at her father's house,  
 551 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's  
 land at 13. Shorly>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.  
 65. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjelik at her  
 brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived  
 with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 52>Nina at her father's house,  
 60. Then to 53: she died in 1910.  
 64. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's,  
 22. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.  
 66. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's  
 daughter at her father's (297); she died. Took Mecca from her father's house, 48, to  
 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.  
 68. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger  
 sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She  
 died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to  
 56.  
 67. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister  
 who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother  
 Fred who lived with him (at 577)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 10.  
 Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10;  
 he died.  
 68. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19>Deskumlauwa  
 lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his  
 mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

## PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

- 311 Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated.  
 423 With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as  
 the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon  
 Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract  
 Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there  
 is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation,  
 all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but  
 numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon  
 above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the  
 311 chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the  
 133 changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its  
 423 level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and  
 leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment.  
 The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated  
 in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncultured  
 311 lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,  
 423 when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desir-  
 ing additional fields.

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*Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.*

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.<sup>1</sup> 726

## TORTS.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, frictions do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horse race. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 230).

A theft by a Navaho is instant and wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227).

## COMPARATIVE NOTES

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuni, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dunsmuir indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.<sup>2</sup> Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Chihuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.<sup>3</sup> Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac-

<sup>1</sup> Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73 75).

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, (1), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 170; Dunsmuir, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lapps, 48; Curtis, 1, 125-127; Mooney, (r), 253.

<sup>3</sup> Henshaw, (d), 104; Curtis, 1, 123; 11, 23, 68; Clifford, (a), 173, 186; Reid, 11.

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591 ramento Valley are matrilineal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilineal residence.<sup>1</sup> Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

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587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuni, Yuma, Kamla, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseno do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.<sup>2</sup>

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624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuni there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.<sup>3</sup> Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.<sup>4</sup> Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.<sup>5</sup>

(614) It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.<sup>6</sup> Clan chiefs, who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

<sup>1</sup>Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 162; Curtiss, II, 53; Mason, J. A., (d), 153; Lowie, (h), 275-276; McKern, 236; Dixon, (a), 230-241; (c), 217; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, (j), 96; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Gifford, (b), 230; Bultin.

<sup>3</sup>Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Dumarest, 1906; Russell, (d), 196.

<sup>4</sup>Parsons, (c), 290-293; Curtiss, XII, 321; I, 55; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 163; Lippa, 38; Franciscan Fathers, 432.

<sup>5</sup>Bultin.  
<sup>6</sup>Kroeber, (a), 278; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 246, 352, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 42; Barrett, (b), 9. Lowie, (i), 262-263; Dixon, (c), 215; (d), 301.

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586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 586 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost 581 every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 773 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he'say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

584 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family. 584 591

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help. 591

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby. 080

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?" 854

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that, 843

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584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bridegroom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile.

585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife.

[591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often—even, also, as white young people do—they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter.

[586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

#### Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped  
621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built  
592 upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a  
[562] woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and [591] temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an  
596 extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

#### Children in the Social Group

##### The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591 ●

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.0 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

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621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

#### Kinship

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603 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband [591] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal [591] grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or  
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by  
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the in-  
crease. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and  
past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described  
a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and  
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier  
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The  
practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possi-  
bility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and  
the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the  
household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until  
his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his  
grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's  
age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing  
upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely  
to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's  
greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence  
of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his  
grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very  
young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite  
readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes him-  
self to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually  
resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the con-  
trary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-  
ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to  
accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future resi-  
dence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic  
enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted  
or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or  
other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their  
camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more  
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate  
baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital.  
The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to  
friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from  
her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy  
and eventually became the ward of a bachelor-paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his  
maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother,  
employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His  
mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing  
for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than \$300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level.

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While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level.

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In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain.

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In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns.

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[591] The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

#### Changes in the Pattern

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834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

[896] Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the back-ground nor chaperon them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage:

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"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it.

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"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.)

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Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an

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Table 2. Residence of family heads with respect to age.

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| Age Groups | Family Heads    |                |        |
|------------|-----------------|----------------|--------|
|            | Off Reservation | On Reservation |        |
|            | Male            | Male           | Female |
| 75-79      |                 | 3              |        |
| 70-74      | 1               | 4              |        |
| 65-69      | 1               |                | 1      |
| 60-64      | 2               | 7              | 1      |
| 55-59      | 1               | 1              | 1      |
| 50-54      |                 | 4              |        |
| 45-49      | 3               |                | 1      |
| 40-44      | 5               |                | 1      |
| 35-39      | 5               | 1              |        |
| 30-34      | 3               |                | 1      |
| 25-29      | 2               |                |        |
| 20-24      | 1               |                |        |
| Totals     | 24              | 20             | 6      |

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although  
389 several of them frequently eat with other families.

382 Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

#### Residence After Marriage

591 The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had [591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596  
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Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591  
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Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591  
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A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the  
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a  
mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present  
economic standard.

### Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier  
(1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted sev-  
eral examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at  
the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separa-  
tions following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a  
gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-  
578 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed  
at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his  
627 Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and  
separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman  
stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but  
that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief  
statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do  
so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was  
reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife  
were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all  
spectators kept their own counsel.

### Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was  
almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-  
827 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the  
684 hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her  
as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up.  
One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the hus-  
band about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they  
could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with  
another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with  
her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the  
relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were  
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she  
did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew  
854 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and  
736 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-  
fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with  
591 her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure  
time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or per-  
form some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has  
cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more  
distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer  
she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days,  
was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. How-  
ever, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close asso-  
ciation with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable varia-  
tion existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence  
became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman  
sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away.  
A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended  
household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with  
her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a mar-  
ried daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in  
patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so  
the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and  
eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions.  
Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are  
quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the  
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their  
own homes either seasonally or permanently.

#### Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly  
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often  
live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they  
frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity ad-  
vances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble  
person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

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648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1882 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs.

[175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1887. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most [177] of it is from their herds of range cattle. [233]

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428] and the temporary matrilineal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, [591] but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

## THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields. With the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house. 593 591

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family. 621 591 736

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock. 624 77 623 626

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief. 624 156

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 177 595 582 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them. 601 606

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months. 177 586 768 765

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed. 262 843

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back. 852 854 882

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes

RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE<sup>1</sup>

ELMAN SERVICE

101 THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in north-  
 161 ern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we  
 know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has  
 114 published a full description of their culture.<sup>2</sup> Geographic isolation has restricted  
 177 the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still  
 accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to  
 be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of  
 these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by  
 Spier in his monograph.

311 The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the  
 423 approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly  
 attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique  
 in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very  
 small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered  
 among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems  
 involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek  
 which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upland of  
 the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are  
 kept up by the persons effected.

114 The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages  
 546 based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit  
 and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the  
 613 village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called  
*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,<sup>3</sup> Spier pointed out the possi-  
 bility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis  
 in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence,  
 which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in  
 the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was  
 temporarily matrilineal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Band before Section H-Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1923).

3 *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 24, pp. 467-469, 1922.

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14  
Havasupai

## HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE

361

Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing. 177  
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[2A]

Out of 37 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later. 182  
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It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations. 114  
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Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,<sup>4</sup> and the crops he 422  
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[768]

<sup>4</sup> About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The House-Clan*